1: Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

PREFACE.

The information presented in this report was collected for the most part during a tour in the Hadhramaut in 1934-5. Apart from this tour the report owes a good deal to subsequent visits to Mukalla up to March of this year, and to two years almost continuous contact with the affairs of the country. Valuable information connected with colonies of Hadhramis in other countries has also been supplied by the administrations and others concerned.

I set out on the tour referred to, accompanied by my wife and Khan Sahib Hasan Muhammad Salih Ja'fer, who has rendered many political services to the Government, on 29th October 1934. We left Aden for Mukalla by steamship, and after five days there went by donkey to the Wadi Du'an where we stayed two nights in 'Aura, and continued on donkeys to Henin. From Henin we drove to Shibam by car, and after a short stay journeyed on camels through part of the almost unknown Sei'ar country. We made a slight detour to visit the tomb of the Prophet Salih in the Wadi Khonab, and then followed the Wadis Ser and Sodaf to the northern watershed, returning to Shibam by the Wadi Qubhudh, where the inhabitants, members of the Harizi tribe, live in caves in the walls of the wadi. On our return to the Wadi Hadhramaut we went by car to Tarim where we spent a few days. During our time in the Wadi Hadhramaut we paid three short visits to Seiyun. From Tarim we travelled with camels down the hitherto unexplored Wadi Maseila, visiting Qabr Hud, the most sacred site in the Hadhramaut, and finally reached Seihut after passing through the country of the Mahra people. From Seihut we took a dhow to Shihr and after two days returned to Mukalla by car. Here we spent a further week and arrived back in Aden by steamship on New Year's Day, 1935.

Among the principal objects of the tour were an enquiry into the social, economic, and political conditions of the country, and the making of contacts with its rulers and people. In the course of this work a considerable amount of material was collected which can be classified as follows :—

1. *Political.*—Apart from information as to the political situation, collected from representatives of all sections of the population, I obtained much material on the various tribes of the country and the inhabitants generally. A great deal of this was taken down verbally during the journey, and much was contained in reports and notes given to me by many of the important authorities and inhabitants with whom I came in contact. Information regarding the Mahras has been omitted from the report.

2. *Economic and Social.*—A considerable amount of information was obtained, by observation and from different sources, on the condition of the people, their methods of living, their industries and the resources of the country, as well as on the finance and

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121 organization of the Qu'aiti and Kathiri states, whose dominions together make up the country referred to in this report as the Hadhramaut.

3. *Geographical.*—A complete watch and compass traverse was made of all the route traversed on foot, on donkey, or on camel. When travelling by car all mileages were recorded. Topographical notes in very full detail were made along the whole of the route. The heights of all halts were taken by aneroid barometer, and temperatures were also recorded. We took 1,330 photographs and 800 feet of cinema film.

4. *Natural History.*—Specimens collected included one mammal, one reptile, one batrachian, 330 insects, spiders, scorpions, centipedes and crustacea, six fossils, eight mineral specimens and 160 botanical specimens. These were all forwarded to the British Museum and reports received. A tin of Du'an honey was also forwarded through the Colonial Office to the Imperial Institute for analysis and report. The report is incorporated in Chapter VII.

5. *Archaeological.*—Although a large number of fragments of inscriptions and other objects were obtained, it does not seem likely that they will prove of exceptional interest. A collection of objects from a Himyaritic tomb in Tarim and some possible stone implements were sent to Professor C. G. Seligman, and I have received some notes from him. He considers the principal feature of interest to be the discovery of sites of manufactories of obsidian, chert, and flint instruments. Various other inscriptions in the country hitherto unrecorded were photographed or copied. The language and characters of one painted inscription found in the Wadi Maseila have not yet been fully determined. Dr. A. S. Tritton of the School of Oriental Studies, who has examined it, has indicated certain similarities, apart from Himyaritic, to Ethiopic and to the North Arabian alphabets of Thamud and Safa.

The information referred to in the first two heads above is included in this report. The remainder, which includes the description of the country visited, has been partly dealt with in papers to the Royal Geographical and Royal Central Asian Societies, and may be made available in other forms.

114 124 I must claim some indulgence for this report, as it will be understood that comparatively speaking the length of time spent in the country was very short. It will be readily understood also that with the wholesale collection of information in a short time it is not possible to obtain all the check desirable, and many of the statements made depend on a single informant. It is however useful that as much as possible should be recorded so that, as opportunity occurs, the information given may be revised.

000 I should like to take this opportunity of acknowledging the great assistance I received from my wife and Khan Sahib Hasan Muhammad on the journey. It would not have been possible to obtain as much information and material without their assistance.

INTRODUCTION.

131 The coast line of the Aden Protectorate starts in the west from Ras Murad opposite the island of Perim, and runs eastward to Ras Dharbat 'Ali, which separates it from that of the Sultanate of Muscat and Oman. Roughly speaking, the Protectorate is bounded in the interior on the west and the north by the Kingdom of Yemen and the Great Desert, and on the east by the Qara country which is part of the dominions of His Highness the Sultan of Muscat and Oman. It also includes the island of Soqotra. The Hadhramaut lies in the east of the Protectorate between the Wahidi and 'Aulaqi countries on the west and the Mahra country on the east. North, it reaches to the Empty Quarter.

64 631 The two principal chiefs of the Protectorate are Their Highnesses the 'Abdali Sultan of Lahej and the Qu'aiti Sultan of Mukalla. The capital of the former lies about 20 miles north of Aden and that of the latter some 300 miles east. It will be easily realized that these two chiefs are by their geographical positions the natural leaders of the western and eastern parts of the Protectorate, and the 'Abdali Sultan, who is the premier chief of the Protectorate, has established his hegemony over the western portion. In some ways the Qu'aiti Sultan is perhaps the most important ruler of the Protectorate, for he controls, or has direct influence over, a larger population than any other chief, and, except for the Mahra Sultan of Qishn and Soqotra, whose nominal kingdom extends over a much wider area, he rules the largest tract of territory in the Protectorate. Although he is acknowledged by the Kathīri Sultan as having precedence in the Hadhramaut, he has not yet secured recognition by the Wahidi Sultans, or by the Mahra Sultan, as their natural leader.

643 648 636 The whole of the Aden Protectorate is ruled by its own chiefs, who are independent as far as their internal affairs are concerned. Their relations with the Protecting Power are for the most part regulated by treaty, and while their foreign affairs are entirely controlled by His Majesty's Government, interference in matters of domestic concern is generally limited to advice.

121 This report offers a survey of the social and political organization of the Hadhramis and of the resources of their country as seen by the writer. The object of this introduction is to give a brief indication of the present trend of development as it appears to him.

178 185 There is an extraordinary complexity of social and governmental organization in the Hadhramaut. The country is in a transition period between the disappearance or modification of the earlier social organization, which has itself evolved with the centuries, and the development of Government more or less on modern lines.

The various classes of society in the Hadhramaut are described in the report, and the interplay of some of them, one with another, has, in the course of time, as in other countries, given rise to abuses which, as the life and thought of the Middle Ages is influenced

1: Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut, MM2

Religion.

Islam is, of course, practically exclusively the religion of the Hadhramaut. There are a number of Banians in Mukalla and a few in Shihr, but, apart from these, other faiths are represented only by one or two Christians and possibly Parsees in the same ports. Occasional Memons, Khojas, and Ithnasheris among the Indian population represent the only exceptions to the universal adherence in the Hadhramaut to the Shafite Sunni school. Rumour has it that traces left from the old Ibadhi-ism are still to be found in the north west in Nejran, and there are of course Ibadhis from Omān, eastwards in Dhufar.

CHAPTER VI.

CONDITIONS OF LIVING IN THE HADHRAMAUT.

The report deals with the conditions found in the Hadhramaut and, to some extent at least, peculiar to that country; it assumes a general knowledge of Arabian conditions of life which are common to the whole Peninsula. It may, however, be well in a few remarks to call attention to some general features of tribal life which should be borne in mind.

The culture of the Arab is determined by his environment, which also largely affects his religion. In the more fertile wadis the people are settled and conservative, on the barren steppes and desert places they are nomadic and communistic. The Beduin, and indeed many of the settled tribes, are extremely poor; their food is of the simplest, their staples being dates, home-grown millet and other grain, imported rice, and dried fish. The tribesman's wardrobe consists of two or three pieces of cloth, and indigo, in which he has implicit faith as protection alike from sun and cold. His dwelling is poor and its furniture hardly makes a camel's load. There are three things he saves up to acquire—arms (a rifle and *jambiya* or curved dagger), a camel, and a wife. The wife is my own addition; Beduins have often mentioned the other requirements to me, which shows, I suppose, that the wife is either an essential who goes without saying or that she is an afterthought. But these are the only things for which a Beduin saves. In other respects he is thriftless.

Poverty affects them in one of two ways: either they raid to augment their scanty means of living or they emigrate and earn their increment in more favourable surroundings abroad. Raiding is a paradox: it is not only a crime against society, but also a recognized means of livelihood. Furthermore, as it is played according to recognized rules it is a national sport. As more and more of the population become settled, raiding tends to become less popular. It is of course a large overstatement to suggest that football and other games will take its place as a sport, but the overstatement does contain some truth, for football is rapidly becoming

2:Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1945 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

and so on, they were pathetically unable to live in their own country without quarrelling. In 1937 I managed to persuade the warring tribes to try a period of truce and the Qu'aiti and Kathiri Sultans asked for me to be appointed as their adviser. From then on an effort has been made to build up local Governments and an advisory system has been evolved in both those States and in the Wahidi Sultanates.

It is the purpose of this paper to describe the methods used in building up State government and social services in the Hadhramaut and in order to illustrate them I propose to describe their development in the Qu'aiti State. This is by far the biggest area in the country and has the largest revenue. For these reasons more time has been given to it than the other areas and the co-operation of the Sultan and his people has been so complete that considerable progress has been made.

The State covers an area of about 50,000 square miles, divided into five *liwas* each with a governor. It has a population of about 200,000 and the capital is the sea port of Mukalla (population today about 25,000), the largest port in South Arabia between Aden and Muscat. The old capital was Shihr, another port some forty miles east of Mukalla, and that is why the Sultan includes the name in his title. The present ruler is His Highness Sultan Sir Salib [illegible] Salib al Qu'aiti, K.C.M.G., who succeeded in 1936.

Status of Great Britain in the Hadhramaut

Until 1937 British relations with the Qu'aiti State depended on a treaty of 1888 in which the British Government extended to Mukalla and Shihr and their dependencies the gracious favour and protection of Her Majesty the Queen Empress. In return for this the rulers undertook to refrain from entering into any relations with any foreign Power except with the sanction of the British Government, and to give notice of the attempt by any other Power to interfere with the country. In 1937 I negotiated a treaty with the Sultan by which His Majesty's Government agreed to appoint a resident adviser to the Sultan and the Sultan agreed, for the welfare of his State, to accept this advice in all matters except those concerning Muhammadan religion and custom. This treaty was based on those entered into with rulers of Malay States, and when Sir Bernard Reilly signed the treaty on Friday, August 13, 1937, he addressed to the Sultan a Note referring to the treaties with the Malay rulers. This Note explained first of all that it was by no means the intention of His Majesty's Government to reduce the powers of the Sultan to insignificance, and made it clear that the treaty would be worked in the same way as similar treaties with Malay rulers. It went on to say there had been very few cases of material disagreement between the ruler and the adviser in Malaya and that the advice to be given to His Highness in all matters of internal concern would be based solely on the adviser's view of the interests of the State and of His Highness. It had been the policy of His Majesty's Government, the Note said, to maintain the authority of the ruler in all such matters. It said that in foreign affairs the case was somewhat different because by

5: Hamilton G-5 (no date) 1943 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2
YEMENITE JEWS ML4

Christians, Jews and worshippers of the many local gods. There was a Christian bishopric at Najran, and a strong settlement of Jews in Jauf. The Jews survived the rise of Islam, religious affinities have attracted to them a certain amount of northern blood, but to-day there is little apparent difference physically between them and the tribesmen of the Yemen: their features are similar; the colour of the skin is only a little lighter, which may be accounted for by the Jew being less exposed to the weather.

Certain laws are imposed upon the Jews by the Arabs. Where, as in the Ja'ud tribes, there is no real Chief, the law becomes custom. They must dress in a particular kind of smock; they must wear their hair in ringlets, hanging down either side of the head in front of the ears; they must not wear a turban; they must not build houses of more than one storey in height; they must not carry arms.

The Jews are perfectly content to abide by these customs. They own no land and their only stock is chickens, but they are, comparatively, skilled artisans, jewellers and metal workers. They have a corner in such trades. Moreover, they pay only the most nominal of taxes, their houses are rent free and no man's hand is against them. To kill a Jew is a great shame, greater even than killing a woman. The Arab leaves the Jew to his religion, and he would not dream of attempting to coerce one into working on the Sabbath, however urgent the matter was. The Jews of the Yemen, therefore, live in great security. They appoint their own heads and run their own schools. Their women are unmolested, their taxes small and their profits great. Few of them, in my opinion, even wish to leave the Yemen, but are more than content to remain. In the capital of Yemen, San'a, the Imam deals with business concerning the Jews through their own head entirely and treats them with every consideration and respect, and his example is followed by his Governors and by Chiefs of the Protectorate. They are a contented, hard-working community. From enquiries I have made I would say that their numbers are fairly static and that there is little danger of a Jewish population problem arising in the near future.

These complete the list of classes and races settled in the Aden Protectorate. Time limits my description to a mere sketch, and I have confined myself to permanent settlers and not to those different types with which the political officer may at times have to concern himself. South Arabia is still a pilgrim route, and I have several times met travellers from the Persian Gulf and Oman and as far afield as Baluchistan, journeying on the hard road through the country to Mecca. I have not described the Somali or Dankali coast traders, nor the sailors.

It will, very soon, be necessary to correct the existing handbook or to publish a new official manual about the country. While there were a few political officers of long residence in the Protectorate such a manual was unnecessary. We all learnt on our own. Now not only has the political staff been increased, but Air Staff Intelligence Officers and Army Intelligence Officers are beginning to travel in the country. The country is being opened up and it is essential that officers who have to travel in it should make a close study of its people, their ancient social organization,

6: Hamilton G-5 (no date) 1943 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2
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SOCIAL ORGANIZATION OF THE ADEN PROTECTORATE

II.—The Tribesman Class

By CAPTAIN THE HON. R. A. B. HAMILTON

000 Lecture given to the Royal Central Asian Society on May 26, 1943, Mr. H. E. Bowman, C.M.G., C.B.E., in the Chair. Captain the Hon. R. A. B. Hamilton gave an address on the "Social Organization of the Aden Protectorate—II. The Tribesman Class."

The CHAIRMAN said that in September, 1942, Captain Hamilton had given them his first lecture on the "Social Organization of the Tribesmen of the Aden Protectorate," and had so interested his audience and the readers of the *Journal* that the article had been reprinted in the last issue. From that lecture it was clear that Major Hamilton had gained a wonderful insight into the people of the country, and that he possessed not only an intimate acquaintance with the different sections of the population of that vast territory, but also a wide learning of the country and sympathy, understanding and friendship for the people of the Aden Protectorate. Those qualities were not always to be found in British political officers, and when they were it was up to everyone to pay tribute to them. Captain Gammans, M.P., had written an excellent letter to *The Times* recently on the future of the Colonial Empire. In that letter he said: "The British Colonial Empire is at the parting of the ways." If that was true, as it might be, then they should see that they took the right way, and if they were to take the right way he, the Chairman, could not ask them to follow a better guide than Captain Hamilton.

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121 IN my last paper I described the classes into which the people of the Aden Protectorate are divided. The most numerous of these is the tribesman class, who are the warriors and the landowners, and it is my purpose in this paper to describe the tribal organization of this class and to suggest how this organization has developed and how the future may affect it.

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619 The basis of the tribal organization in the Aden Protectorate is the confederation of tribes. The tribe itself is a small unit, rarely exceeding 500 males. Some of these small tribes are "sheikhly" tribes, and these form the nucleus of confederations. A few examples will serve to make this clear.

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619 The tribes of the Yafa' Confederation inhabit the highest of the mountain spurs of the south-east Yemen range. They are divided into the sub-confederations of Upper and Lower Yafa'. The sheikhly tribe of both sub-confederations is the Beni Qasid of Lower Yafa', from and within which is elected the Lower Yafa' Sultan, which is the Chief of Chiefs of all Yafa'.

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622 It must not be supposed that this Sultan of the Beni Qasid is a ruler in our sense of the word. In fact, even within his family, his powers are very small. A certain aura of holiness attaches to him as an hereditary tribal head, which we will shortly examine, but the influence he wields within his own small tribe dwindles outside that tribe almost to nothing.

000 The name "Yafa'" is the name of a pagan deity, and, in the absence

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TOWNS AND ARCHITECTURE OF THE HADHRAMAUT

BY [illegible] DE STURLER-RAEMAEKERS

Report of a lecture illustrated by a film delivered to the Society on Thursday, May 21, 1953, Mr. W. H. Ingrams, C.M.G., O.B.E., in the chair.

The CHAIRMAN: As you can well imagine, it is a great pleasure to me to take the chair this afternoon for Mrs. Sturler-Raemaekers, because I have spent ten years in the country which she is about to describe. Unfortunately, ever since I left it in 1944 time has done nothing but take me somewhere else in the world. I have just returned from a tour of the United States, Mexico, Central America and the West Indies. Most of my time seems to be taken up in Africa and it is difficult to get an opportunity of looking again at the Hadhramaut. Hence it is a great pleasure to be able to see Mrs. Sturler-Raemaekers' slides and to hear her account this afternoon.

I expect that in some respects at least the architecture of the Hadhramaut is familiar to many of you through Freya Stark's books, perhaps particularly the illustrations in her book *Seen in the Hadhramaut*; also Mr. Osbert Lankaster, an architect who many may know better as a cartoonist, wrote an article on the architecture of the Hadhramaut some years ago which appeared, I believe, in the *Architectural Journal*.

There is a very long tradition of architecture in the Hadhramaut. One wonders how long this wonderful working in mud has gone on. In ancient days the ancient Hadhraumauti used to go in for monumental stone masonry on a large scale. I remember seeing huge stones lying on the old Hadhramauti ruins and being told by the local people that the stones had been transported to the early buildings by the Adites, who were formerly giants. Hadhraumaut is a country which has always recognized the Book of Genesis, that there were giants in the land in those days.

Mrs. Sturler-Raemaekers was born in Holland and came to England as a child, first, during the first World War. Here she was educated, so we can at least claim part of her. Then she went to France and later came back to England to study architecture for three years at the Architectural Association. She took her degree in Brussels and practised there. Then she travelled a good deal in Europe. She returned to England again at the outbreak of the recent World War and has been here ever since except for her travelling. In 1948 Mrs. Sturler-Raemaekers thought she would go further afield and, fortunately for us and for Arabia, she chose to go there, but before doing so she took the precaution of studying Arabic for two years at London University.

Mrs. Sturler-Raemaekers spent ten months in the Hadhramaut in 1950-51 and was there again in 1952 for five months. She has told me, very modestly, that that is a very inadequate time in which to study the Hadhramaut, but I think we shall discover that she found out a great deal of much interest while she was there.

MY experience of the Middle East is, as you have heard, somewhat brief, being only three years. I therefore feel a little embarrassed when speaking before a gathering in which there may be many who have probably travelled there for much longer periods. I trust they will show some indulgence towards anything I may say which may not be either new or just as they saw it; I have at least specialized knowledge in one subject which took me there, and that is architecture. I went to study the buildings of Hadhramaut and make measured drawings of them. I do not intend to give a technical discourse on exactly how the buildings are constructed or how the bricks are made, because I do not think that this is

●121 what people want to hear. In this short talk I would like to deal more with the feeling of these buildings as related to the people who live in them and who have created them. If time allows I hope to show a short colour film I made there and which portrays general scenes of life in Hadhramaut.

122 There is one thing I can say without any hesitation or doubt, and that is to give expression to my great gratitude to those who helped me to go on these journeys. I could not possibly mention by name all those to whom I am indebted, but at least I wish to speak of Sir Bernard Reilly of the Colonial Office, who made it possible for me to go to Hadhramaut and gave me the necessary introductions. I also want to thank Dr. Serjeant of the School of Oriental and African Studies of London University, who taught me for two years and who showed me everything I had to know in order to travel in that strange and isolated country he had himself visited. Finally, I am most grateful to Colonel Hugh Boustead, Resident Adviser of the East Aden Protectorate, who facilitated my journey in every possible way. He was my kind host and gave me travel facilities and permits to go where many people had difficulty in going.

131 To plunge into my subject, I might say that one does in fact almost plunge into the Hadhramaut from above. It is one of those rare countries which cannot be reached by rail or by road and hardly by sea except on a little native dhow; so that since the British Protectorate authorities started to develop the country it has been habitual to go to Hadhramaut by plane, and one does indeed drop into it from the sky. Such isolation is rare in our times and needs some explanation for those not familiar with the geography of Southern Arabia.

131 Arabia has always been one of the most difficult countries of access to
133 Europeans, for geographical as well as religious reasons. In the centre of the peninsula is one of the largest deserts in the world, and it is surrounded by forbidding coastal ranges from halfway up the Red Sea coast, down to the "barren rocks of Aden" and eastward along the southern coast, almost three-quarters of its length before there is any break in the mountains.

But for small valleys, these mountains and the interior are absolutely barren. With the exception of the Yemen, to all intents and purposes, little or nothing grows in that vast area. There is no water. There is little earth, and in the relentless mountain ranges and plateaux along the coast there is often not even sand—just rock and flint and granite. Yet these coastal ranges are crossed in all directions by ageless tracks made by camel trains of the bedouin traders who have followed them for two thousand, perhaps three thousand years, bringing the incense from Dhufar beyond Hadhramaut.

101 The people who now live in the interior highlands are the bedouin,
[342] the descendants of the traders of old, who dwell in small stone-built villages or mud castles. This south-western corner is still largely a tribal area where there are different little bedouin sultanates. Some of them are being gradually brought into the confederation and some even accept complete British protection; others live entirely in their own ancient way of
000 life of blood feuds and strife. Some miles out of Aden a sultan recently

9: Ingrams G-4 (1934-1944) 1945 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

SOUTH-WEST ARABIA: TO-DAY AND TO-MORROW

By HAROLD INGRAMS, C.M.G., O.B.E.

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Lecture given to the Royal Central Asian Society on January 24, 1945, Lieut.-General H. G. Martin, C.B., D.S.O., O.B.E., in the Chair.

Introducing the lecturer the Chairman said that Mr. Ingrams had been intimately connected with affairs in South-West Arabia since he first went to Aden as a political officer in 1934. Later as British Resident Adviser at Mukalla, Mr. Ingrams, accompanied by his wife, carried out a series of journeys, which were not only of scientific value but which paved the way for a remarkably successful pacification of the tribes in the Hadhramaut, who were induced by peaceful persuasion to lay aside their hereditary blood feuds. It was in recognition of the part that Mrs. Ingrams played in helping to make this possible that the Lawrence Memorial Medal was awarded conjointly to Mr. and Mrs. Ingrams in 1939; an example that was followed by the Royal Geographical Society in the award of their Founder's Medal in 1940. Mr. Ingrams returned to this country from the Western Aden Protectorate at the end of 1944.

The lecturer opened with an account of a recent journey in the Yemen, and it is hoped that this will appear as a separate article in the next issue of the Journal.

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OF late months there has been greater activity in the question of Arab unity. The conference at Alexandria was stimulated by the promise of His Majesty's Government to give full support to any scheme that will command general approval for strengthening the cultural, economic and political ties between the Arab countries. The conference was attended by representatives of Egypt, 'Iraq, Syria, Lebanon, Transjordan, Saudi Arabia and the Yemen, and there was an observer from Palestine. Talk in relation to Arab unity is generally concentrated on the more advanced areas in the north, but sooner or later the matter must affect the whole of the peninsula, and the people of Southern Arabia must be drawn into closer touch with their brethren in the north.

I thought, therefore, that it might be of interest if I tried to give you a short description of conditions in South-West Arabia as they have been during the last few years. One way or another during the last six years of absence from England I have had to do with all parts of this area, and though I do not claim to know them all equally well, I thought perhaps I knew enough from seeing them personally and dealing with their affairs to justify my giving you my own impressions of them as a slight contribution to the material for the study of the question of Arab unity in relation to all Arab countries, including the less well known. But I make no claim whatever to give a final or authoritative picture, so you must not regard what I say about them as more than a personal view.

I have called this lecture "South-West Arabia: To-day and To-morrow," but as regards to-morrow I merely want to indicate a possibility or two, more with the object of asking the question, What can we do to help this more backward part of the Arab world to fit itself to take a real part in the League of Arab States which may eventually be established?

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South-West Arabia is to-day divisible into four distinct parts, and I propose to take each of these in turn, giving a sketch of how I see its

9. Ingrams G-4 (1934-1944) 1945 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2.

121 present condition. It is not easy to illustrate that with lantern slides, but I wanted to use the illustrations mainly to enable you to see some of the differences between each division, something of the nature of the country, the appearance of the people and, above all, the architecture.

The Divisions of South-West Arabia

101 175 From an Arab point of view, in geography and history South-West Arabia consists of two countries, the Yemen and the Hadhramaut, but actually to-day its four distinct areas are the Kingdom of the Yemen, the Western Aden Protectorate, the Hadhramaut or Eastern Aden Protectorate, and the Colony of Aden.

175 631 In Islamic times and until the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the Western Aden Protectorate and Aden were part of the Kingdom of the Yemen, but various governors and sheikhs of the Western Aden Protectorate only held an uneasy allegiance to the Yemen and broke away as practically independent units. They remained independent until they concluded treaties with His Majesty's Government, mostly last century. Thus the Aden Protectorate gradually grew up. What is now the Colony of Aden was captured from Lahej in 1839 or ceded at later dates. Towards the end of the nineteenth century treaties were made with the coastal chiefs of the Hadhramaut. In 1914 a British sphere of influence in South-West and South-East Arabia was arranged with the Turks. The Turks had twice occupied but never fully conquered the Yemen, and their insecure rule came to an end after the last war, when the Imam became independent.

In pre-Islamic times the Hadhramaut was for a period an independent kingdom. From the time of the Prophet's mission until the ninth century it submitted uneasily to the rule of the Caliphate, and then became independent again, though for periods during succeeding centuries—until the thirteenth century—it was claimed by the Yemen. There was a final short period of Yemeni domination at the end of the seventeenth century, but the Zeidis were finally turned out in 1704. The Hadhramaut remained independent until 1888, when the British Protectorate over the Qu'aiti started.

Down to 1937 the Aden Protectorate, often known as the Nine Cantons, and the Hadhramaut were treated as two ill-defined entities, but as the treaties with the chiefs of both were similar, the two were united as one protectorate by Order in Council that year. When, however, a forward policy in the Hadhramaut was started in that same year, they were again considered separate for administrative purposes, and the old Aden Protectorate was called the Western Protectorate and the Hadhramaut and Mahra country the Eastern.

631 There are such great differences between the Western Aden Protectorate and the Eastern Aden Protectorate that they should be considered separate areas when one is thinking of the divisions of South-West Arabia. Indeed, the Eastern Aden Protectorate could well be considered as two areas itself—the Hadhramaut in the west, and in the east, linked with Socotra, the Mahri country, much more primitive than the Hadhramaut and probably more primitive than the Western Aden Protectorate. It has

121 BETWEEN April and October 1936 the Egyptian University of Cairo sent out a scientific expedition to Yaman and Hadhramaut. It consisted of four members, and was intended to carry out researches in the fields of geology, physiography, archæology, anthropology and entomology. The expedition covered a distance of some 2,500 kilometres and was able to carry out intensive researches at various localities both on the High Plateau of Yaman and in the interior of Hadhramaut. The material brought back has not been studied in detail as yet; but a preliminary note can be given here.

Geology

121 133 One of the expedition's main aims was to work out certain problems connected with the geological history of the southern borders of the Red Sea. We worked at a number of points along the lines of rifting both south and west of the Yaman Plateau, where the old crystalline rocks (schists and granites) of the base were exposed under later (secondary and tertiary) sediments and lavas. The successive horizons of the tertiary traps of the High Plateau were carefully examined and specimens collected. In north-east Yaman we worked chiefly on Jurassic limestones and Nubian sandstones, and a large collection of fossils was made from the successive zones of the former. The interior of Hadhramaut was found to have a relatively simple structure and to consist mostly of Eocene limestones on earlier unfossiliferous sandstones. We hope that new evidence from the lower part of the Eocene may throw useful light on the date of the trap volcanic series of tertiaries in south-west Arabia.

Physiography

133 Pleistocene geology proved to be quite interesting. We worked chiefly on the middle parts of the valleys, which were relatively independent of changes in base (sea) level. Two physiographic cycles were established, the first being by far the more pronounced. Valleys with sloping sides were first cut and then filled with coarse gravels which now rise (usually in two or more terraces) to some 30 m. above the beds of the streams. During this stage there was a good deal of lateral wash and erosion in the middle parts of the valleys, and this erosion was probably responsible for the sloping sides of the V-shaped valleys. The gravels were examined at a large number of exposures, but unfortunately they produced only one or two specimens of pre-Chellean appearance.

The second physiographic cycle was associated first with the cutting of new steep-sided valleys *emboîtées* in the older gravels, and then with the filling in of these new valleys with soft sediments of silt. Deposition was much more regular and there was very little lateral wash in the middle parts of the new valley-beds. The discharge during the depositional phase of the second cycle was much less than that during the depositional phase of the first cycle, as only

14: van der Meulen T-4 (1931) 1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

some decades longer to be exempt from the visit of a Christian.

This ends the list of the explorers of Hadramaut. The Royal Air Force did indeed make several scouting flights from Aden over Hadramaut, but they never made a landing, and sometimes had to fly very high. To these flights, however, we are indebted for a very important series of photographs, which provide valuable geographical material (see *The Geographical Journal,* vol. lxxvii, No. 3, March, 1931).

When I was given the task of visiting this country, which is so little known, and so important to us (Hollanders) in view of the tens of thousands of people from Hadramaut who live in the Netherlands Indies, I took steps to make more of the journey than could be accomplished by one government official who is not in any way an expert. I sent an invitation to Dr. H. von Wissmann of the Geographical Institute connected with the University of Vienna, asking him to venture with me upon the hazardous journey to Hadramaut. I had become acquainted with von Wissmann through his exploration work in the Hejaz and Yemen. He was to make the survey of the journey, and to carry out all instrumental and scientific observations, and we would work together on the collections of plants and insects and in taking photographs. Moreover I was able to offer him the assistance of an official introduction from the Dutch government, my knowledge of the Arabic and Malay languages, and that special help which a former government official from the Dutch Indies might hope for in the country of the Hadramaut people.

When I met von Wissmann at Aden in April of this year (1931), I had just completed a trip along the shores of the Red Sea. Both of us had received very unfavorable information in regard to present conditions in Hadramaut. Practically no one gave us any hope of success. However, the English authorities at Aden

15: Bunker N-4 (ca. 1950) 1953 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

THE SOUTH-WEST BORDERLANDS OF THE RUB' AL KHALI

D. G. BUNKER

121 126 AS A RESULT of work carried out for the Desert Locust Survey in south-western Arabia during the past few years, several of the blanks on the map have been filled in and much confirmation has been given to previous travellers' reports. The region particularly investigated has been that which forms the transition belt from the peripheral mountain system to the interior sand desert often referred to as the Rub' al Khali. The area visited has been mapped on a scale of 1:500,000 by means of car-compass traverses tied to astronomically determined positions, all to a general accuracy of 0·1 of a mile. The following notes are intended only to supplement the information contained in those maps which are in process of publication.

The mountain systems

183 The old crystalline hills of the 'Asir and Yemen, which to the west drop in a series of steps to the Tihamah or coastal plain, are to the east overlain by near horizontal strata of sedimentary rocks of which the oldest are probably the sandstones forming the Kaukab plateau and the newest, excluding recent deposits, are the Eocene limestones of the *jol*, the succession seeming more complete in the north. The peripheral mountain system is in the form of a letter L, where the upright stroke comprises the 'Asir and the Yemen mountains and the horizontal stroke is the *jol* plateau, the division being more or less abrupt along the line of the forty-seventh meridian.

Philby (1938) describes the change between the two sides of the 'Asir watershed as "abruptly from a tropical country to a desert plateau of uniform height of over eight thousand feet (with higher ridges), descending to about six thousand feet at the western end of the Najran tract. It is a sandstone area with occasional cappings and peaks of basalt. Its rugged gorges and valleys have occasional wells and springs, but for the most part it is an abomination of desolation extending north-ward to Dhahran and south-ward to the limit of vision into the still unexplored territory of northern Yemen." Nevertheless there are among the eastern slopes many wadis whose seasonal floods may rush out of the mountainous regions to the inland plain and on into the sandy desert.

The regularity of these floods in the past may be deduced from the extent of the thick layers of silt which mark the sites of past damming and irrigation works in nearly all these wadis. These silt layers often form 20-foot cliffs containing the present watercourses, and occasionally the ruins of the dams themselves may be found. The Wadis Habauna and Najran, besides having silt cliffs, show signs of further re-cutting of their outwash plains. In both cases the outwash plain extends regularly for the first 10 miles from the foothills but during the next 5 miles is eroded by gullies some 3 feet deep which together form a plain at a lower level, only to be re-cut in the same manner.

16: Gardner A-4 (1937-38) 1939 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

CLIMATE, IRRIGATION, AND EARLY MAN IN THE HADHRAMAUT

G. CATON-THOMPSON AND E. W. GARDNER

Afternoon Meeting of the Society, 7 November 1938

000 IN a land as little known as South-west Arabia there is danger to the scientific traveller of getting lost. Not lost in the geographical sense, though at times that might be easy in the unending monotony of its valley floors and desert plateaux, but lost in the intricacies of a myriad detailed observations concerning them and the parts they played thousands of years ago in the lives of their inhabitants. The traveller crawls about like an ant amongst the dust heaps, collecting facts; facts related and unrelated, important and unimportant, which eventually, perhaps years hence and in other hands, go to the making of an ever-incomplete picture. He may be envious of the all-embracing synthetic view, such as the airman may obtain; but he remains aware that his microscopic, analytic rummaging amongst the individual stones is the indispensable element in eventual comprehension of the whole. Such reflections are not an inappropriate preface to this paper, which is the record of hitherto unrecorded facts. That the unimportant may not have been winnowed yet from the important is recognized: it is too soon to be sure which is which, or what may be the wider relevance of any of them.

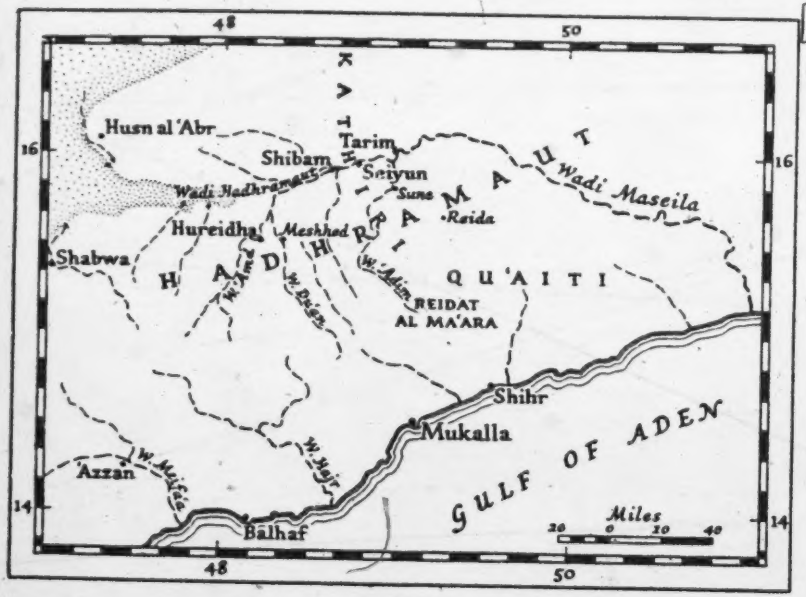
114 The archaeological and geological work in the Hadhramaut now to be
122 outlined, pending a detailed publication of the whole, took place during the winter of 1937–38, between November and early March. It was made possible as much by a generous grant from Lord Wakefield, with the support of this Society, as by the facilities of entry into the country given by the Aden and Mukalla administration, and not least by the Arab potentates in Qu'aiti and Kathiri territory, whose proverbial hospitality we were privileged to experience. The party consisted of Freya Stark, already a well-known and observant traveller in the country; Elinor Gardner,[1] who has contributed the major part of this paper; and myself.

114 Scientifically the land, though beginning to be well known in its main topo-
121 graphical features, has escaped intensive study to a degree now rare, and therefore it offered a number of attractive pioneer problems to geologist and archaeologist alike. On the archaeological side the ground, in common with all Arabia Felix, was virtually *terra incognita*. Not a single date before the Christian era was fixed; almost anything might turn up. A prearranged plan of research in view of the uncertainties of the field was impossible. Nevertheless objectives have to be clarified, and mine were broadly threefold. First, to bridge the gap in palaeolithic distribution maps between East Africa and Asia. Secondly to test it as an area of possible contact with the Makran coast, Mesopotamia, and India in the third and fourth millennia. Thirdly to investigate the material culture of its pre-Islamic inhabitants, and by its

[1] My contribution is confined to the archaeological sections and to the form and general supervision of this paper in Miss Gardner's absence.

16: Gardner A-4 (1937-38) 1939 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

help to introduce for the first time dating, absolute or relative, into the early history, independently of, or in conjunction with, inscriptions. Interwoven with these purely archaeological questions was Miss Gardner's geological investigation of the Quaternary physiography of the region; more especially inquiry into problems of past climates; and comparisons of Pleistocene conditions in South-west Arabia in lat. 15° N. with those of a typical desert area as studied by her in Kharga Oasis and elsewhere in the Libyan desert 10° farther north.[1] A recent Egyptian expedition under Dr. S. A. Huzayyin had done valuable work on these lines in 1936 in the Yemen, where a series of prehistoric pluvial periods had been traced, besides the possibility of a minor



one in historic times. That expedition paid also a flying visit to the Hadhramaut, but little work was done there.[2]

The general physical features of the country are well known from the excellent map published by von Wissmann in 1932,[3] and from the air reconnaissance of Squadron-Leader Cochrane [4] and the late Flight-Lieut. A. R. M. Rickards, whose map shows well the peculiar drainage system (Plate 1). Very recently a methodical aerial survey of the whole Protectorate has been accomplished, and we are privileged here to publish some of the photographs. Mr. and Mrs. Ingrams still remain the only Europeans who have travelled from

[1] *Geol. Mag.*, vol. lxix, September 1932, "Some problems of the Pleistocene hydrography of Kharga Oasis."

[2] S. A. Huzayyin, "Egyptian University Scientific Expedition to south-west Arabia," *Nature* 140 (1937) 513–4.

[3] Folder to 'Hadramaut: some of its mysteries unveiled,' by D. Van der Meulen and H. von Wissmann. Leiden, 1932.

[4] "An air reconnaissance of the Hadhramaut" (*Geogr. J.* 77 (1931) 209–16).

114 realized in Ḥaḍramaut in a much wider circle than a quarter of a century ago. But this unhappy land still lacks that unity which is required to develop the springs of prosperity and to insure safety of life and property. In this respect, the barbaric customs of the Djāhiliyya (the pre-Islamic period) still prevail. For surmounting the difficulties on this score, Van der Meulen had to rely on the experience gained by him both in his earlier capacity as civil servant in Netherlands India and his later activity as diplomatic officer in Arabia, as well as on his proficiency in the Arabic and Malay languages, and, not least, on his own personality. All this has enabled him to take full advantage of the improved opportunities; his trip through the whole of Ḥaḍramaut has indeed been a triumphal progress.

114 121 It is obvious that Van der Meulen's expedition can only to a certain extent be called a journey of exploration. His commission was of a political nature, and it would not have been possible for him, in the allotted time, to combine with it profound geographical and ethnographical researches. But, in order that, should he manage to penetrate into Ḥaḍramaut, this success should as far as possible be made of service to science, he secured the co-operation of his friend, the able German geographer, Dr. H. von Wissmann. The two friends have spared themselves no trouble and have considered no effort or deprivation too great to make the best of the six weeks, which they could devote to the expedition to the littoral and hinterland. They have won the sympathy of influential persons both for themselves and for their work, and have been enabled not only to become acquainted with the chief towns, but also to solve, once for all, the mystery of the Well of Barhūt and to obtain a detailed knowledge of the Ḥaḍramī sanctuary, to which annually in the eighth month of the Muhammadan year, a large proportion of the population make a pilgrimage. They have cursorily examined various ruins, taken many photographs, and Von Wissmann has been able to ascertain enough data to draw the first map of Ḥaḍramaut, based on measure-

ments and surveying. And far from being driven out of the land with curses, as their forerunners were, there re-echoed everywhere on their departure the wish: "Goodbye and a speedy return".

Far more than they were able to do in the limited time, remains for their successors to accomplish, before it can be said that the country and people of Ḥaḍramaut have been fully described in all their characteristics. The same remark, however, still applies to the greater part of this gigantic peninsula. Let us hope that the trail blazed by Van der Meulen and Von Wissmann may before long be followed by other, thoroughly prepared and well-equipped, devotees of science, who will command the necessary leisure for completing, in every direction, the investigation so intrepidly begun.

It would, on the contrary, be regrettable in every way if that track were to be followed, not by serious investigators, but by more persons like a certain Hans Helfritz, who, a short time after the journey described in this book had been completed, succeeded through a fortunate chance, in making a hurried trip with his camera to the littoral and to a couple of towns in the interior, and whose photographs with nonsensical letter-press attached to them, have appeared in a number of European illustrated papers, in March and April of 1932. This "investigator" understands no Arabic, is absolutely unacquainted with the land and people of Arabia and is equally ignorant of what has already been achieved by others in the exploration of Arabia and especially of Ḥaḍramaut. He seems not even to have heard of his immediate predecessors, for he describes himself as the discoverer of the town of Terim "where no white man had set foot"; he calls the dwellers of Ḥaḍramaut savages and speaks of Arabian cannibals. What is worse, he gives details of his return journey to el-Makalla, which, if any truth underlies the anecdote, prove that he lacked all fitness for intercourse with the people of the country: five Bedouins, who were assigned to him by a chief to act as guides, are said to have

CHAPTER I.

THE DEPARTURE.

ADEN—MAKALLA.

We owe our journey to Ḥaḍramaut to a mission entrusted to us by the Netherlands Government. Later it will become clear how deep-lying the contact is between Ḥaḍramaut and Netherlands India, and how self-evident it is that the Dutch Government should wish to make itself accurately acquainted with the social and political conditions in the native land of the tens of thousands of Arabs, who form such an important element in the social fabric of that country. The Ḥaḍramīs are not absorbed into the union of Indonesian peoples, and many of them keep a firm hold on the connection with their own country, in the hope that some day they may be able to return there, to await the Day of Resurrection and Judgment in that hallowed ground. The charge entrusted to Dr. van den Berg to write his book, which was published by the Government of Netherlands India, resulted from the practical needs of that Government with regard to the heterogeneous peoples of Indonesia. So also with the mission entrusted to me.

Although I knew how difficult it had been made, until now, for a Christian and Westerner to penetrate into the land of the fanatical Ḥaḍramī, yet I had some hope of success in the attempt, and this for two reasons.

The years that I had spent in the civil service of Netherlands India had given me the conviction that the Ḥaḍramī is grateful for the treatment which he receives there from our Government and for the opportunities which he has to save money and to get on in the world. As a government official of Netherlands India I had not reckoned in vain on finding a welcome among the Ḥaḍramī families having relations with Indo-

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

114 nesia, and a conversation carried on in the Malay language
191 often worked wonders.

114 My second advantage lay in the fact that I had represented my country for several years at Djedda, the seaport of Mecca, the Exalted. My knowledge of conditions in the sacred land of Islam and of the Wahhābī régime, only recently established there by that great Arab Bin Saʿūd, procured for me willing listeners in circles where there was no connection with the East Indies.

114 In order that the journey should serve not only a diplomatic,
121 but also a scientific purpose, it was necessary to have a travelling companion who would take upon himself that side of the work. Dr. Hermann von Wissmann accepted the offer to share the Ḥaḍramaut adventure. We had already met in Djedda and learned to appreciate each other. He had gained experience of travel and research with Dr. C. Rathjens of Hamburg in exploration in the Hedjaz and the Yemen. The large map of the district over which we travelled, the sketch maps, the ground-plans, and the geographical, geological, and botanical information, contained in the present book, are his work.

114 At the end of April 1931 we met in Aden. Our plans could not have succeeded without the cooperation of the British authorities. The Bents in their book write very gloomily over the attitude of the Aden Government towards them.[1] Hirsch had a better experience[2], and we perhaps, the best of all. The Resident, Colonel Reilly, promised help and, instead of speaking with discouragement of our chances, as had been done up to now both by Arabs and Europeans, he considered that we were by no means without chance of success. He saw the greatest difficulty in the hot season that would be sure

[1] Th. Bent and Mrs. Th. Bent, *Southern Arabia*, London, 1900, p. 72 *sq.*

[2] Leo Hirsch, *Reisen in Süd-Arabien, Mahra-land und Hadramût*, Leiden, 1897, p. 2, 109.